/174 cont./

624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[65] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

539 /306 cont./

The Pijao was very much astonished over the ax in the Paez house. He did not touch it, but wanted to own it. The next day he came back and met the owner and asked him to sell him the ax. But the Paez did not want to. (The Paez man and the Pijao man were able to talk to each other and to understand each other well, the narrator explained, for in former times they both had the same language.) The Pijao then offered a whole pot of gold for the ax. He would, of course, have to fetch it from the house of the Pijao. The Paez agreed, and so the two set out together for the village of the Pijao. Since the latter, like all Pijao, was unclothed, to be sure, but much taller than the Paez, he took him on his shoulder and carried him to his village. In one hand he had the ax, with which, along the way, he would cut down a tree with only one blow. Like all Pijao, he had uncanny strength.

[651] Having arrived in the village, there were no people present, since it was minga day /see "Minga" in the glossary, p. 249/, a day on which the whole village is obliged to take part in joint work (road or bridge building). The Pijao with the Paez man went into his house, in which only his mother was present, and he /307/ asked her not to divulge anything to anyone, for this Paez was not to be devoured, as was done otherwise. For if the other Pijao knew that there was a Paez in this house, they would want to devour him. Mother and son, therefore, dug a hole in a corner of the hut, put the Paez in it, and covered it with a large wooden bowl. In the evening many Pijao came to this house and talked and drank, until suddenly several Pijao discovered that there was such a pleasant Paez fragrance there. The mother of the house answered that what was so fragrant was not a Paez, but her own stench. They all laughed. Then they went on eating and became drunk on chicha and started to dance. A Pijao man made the music with his transverse flute, while the women beat time on their breasts. (The Pijao women all have long pendulous breasts.)

The Pijao danced for three days and three nights in a row, without sleeping. Then they all fell asleep. The whole house was full of the dancers. They snored like pigs; only the Pijao who had brought the Paez and his mother were not asleep. They

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

447 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
511 1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	.....	...
563 2.	.....	..	8,80	1,2	21,60	3,0	.....	...
●651 3.	.....	..	.....	...	21,60	3,0	.....	...
871 4.	.....	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	.....	...
5.	.....	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	.....	...
6.	.....	..	18,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	.....	...
7.	.....	..	.....	...	45,60	4,0	.....	...
8.	.....	..	.....	...	50,40	7,0	.....	...
9.	.....	..	.....	...	57,00	4,4	.....	...
10.	.....	..	.....	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	.....	..	.....	...	36,00	6,2	.....	...
12.	.....	..	.....	...	68,40	9,4	.....	...
13.	.....	..	.....	...	72,00	6,7	.....	...
14.	.....	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	.....	...
15.	.....	..	.....	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	.....	..	.....	...	26,40	4,8	.....	...
17.	.....	..	.....	...	18,00	6,0	.....	...
18.	.....	..	.....	...	84,00	4,3	.....	...
19.	.....	..	30,00	1,8	.....	...	.....	...
20.	.....	..	.....	...	36,00	6,3	.....	...
21.	.....	..	.....	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	.....	...	100,00	7,2	.....	...
23.	.....	..	.....	...	57,60	9,5	.....	...
24.	.....	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	.....	...
25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	.....	...

Lame

1.	*	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	.....	...
2.	.....	..	.....	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	.....	..	.....	...	8,00	1,7	.....	...
4.	*	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
5.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	.....	..	.....	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...

San Andres

1.	*2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	.....	...
2.	.....	..	.....	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
4.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	.....	..	.....	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	.....	..	.....	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	.....	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*24,20	3,8	.....	...	67,20	3,0	.....	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	.....	...
12.	.....	..	.....	...	21,60	12,7	.....	...
13.	.....	..	.....	...	28,80	4,4	.....	...
14.	*	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	.....	...
15.	*13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	.....	...

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,1(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Pdez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,1/ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba F-5/(no data) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things
[177] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]